

Radical Education Project

Values and Utopia
The American Ideology
National Political Economy
International Political Economy
Cultural Institutions and Art
Mass Media, Advertising, and the Arts
Strategies of Change
Programs toward New Constituencies

RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT: an independent educational, research and publication program initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, dedicated to the cause of a democratic radicalism, and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America.

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Democratic radicalism is renewing itself around the basically moral proposition: People should have the opportunity to participate in shaping the decisions and the conditions of economic, political and cultural existence which affect their lives and destinies.

The Purpose of REP

A: TOWARDS A NEW LEFT IN AMERICA:

The vitality and the idealism of the new movements are related in part to the directness of this relatively non-ideological moral position. But a left movement requires more than idealism and passion: Intellectually, it must have knowledge; it must have understanding and analysis; and it must have a social program and prescription which translate radical vision into concrete realities. Organizationally, it must expand its appeal and its participation beyond the populations of students and economically exploited. These groups may form the militant base of the movement, but the problems of the "affluent" in America—union members, professionals, the broad middle class, the intelligentsia, etc.—are in some ways even more pressing and serious than those of the underclass and outsiders. Not only do more people experience them, but they are newer, less clearly understood and less subject to simple institutional or economic remedy.

The task of the movement, now, is not only to seek immediate political objectives—locally and nationally. It must begin a longer term job: to create, or coalesce anew, a generation of democratic people, not only youth, who can maintain a radical value commitment and identity and who will extend the movement into new areas. The commitment is to radical democracy, both as an end and as a means. We are concerned not merely with the evident moral failures and abuses of American society. Our job is to lay bare the social roots of those abuses. Our goal is not simply to facilitate a remedy to individual problems as they become so great as to be intolerable; it is to transform the institutions and thinking which produce and multiply abuses. Our attack must be both on narrow issues and on the ideology and institutions which keep issues narrow. On this basis, it may be possible to create a politically relevant, undisguised radical program for America.

B. BROAD OBJECTIVES

The intent of the project is to make explicit the meaning of radical democracy for America: it must in the course of its activities make clear what institutions and conditions are to be changed and the nature of their replacements as well as those aspects of contempo-

This theme is not new. Indeed, it is deeply rooted in the traditions of utopian and scientific socialism, popular democracy and humanism. But it has acquired a new urgency and concreteness in the radical action movements of the last six years. It has become the unifying point of moral reference in the opposition to the corporate state, in the anti-war movement, in the critique of authoritarianism and paternalism in the university, and in the freedom struggles of Negroes in particular and the American underclass in general.

rary life that are important to preserve and strengthen.

The project does not start with a "political line": its intent is to develop an analysis which is adequate for our times.

The unifying thread in its work will be the insistence that conclusions stem either from experience or research (or both) and not simply be extrapolated from a dogmatic framework. Too much of what has passed for education is simply the ritualistic repetition of slogans. The work of the project will not be bound to follow in the "masters' footsteps," although it shall head for the same goal. The project is not a substitute for political action or organization. It seeks to complement the action thrust of the movement by insuring that the necessary intellectual and educational resources are available. The project does not envision being a central bureaucratic headquarters for coordinating all educational work on the left. It attempts to visualize and stimulate a "movement turn toward education" which includes many independent strands of activity. The project will hope to add to that activity by the creating of "task forces" and study groups and performing other educational tasks.

C. ORGANIZATION OF STUDY GROUPS AND TASK FORCES:

The project is obviously a major and ambitious intellectual enterprise. What is outlined in this paper might be considered a "Five Year Plan." We will begin with two basic organizational forms: the Task Force, whose major functions will be original scholarly research, and the presentation of educational programs to people in the movement; and the Study Group, which is seen primarily as an instrument of self education on the local level, although it certainly might make original contributions of scholarship. These groups (especially Task Forces) might be organized nationally, with interested people from around the country (and abroad) being in touch with one another by correspondence and occasional conferences. Or they might be organized locally, around a core of people in a particular SDS chapter, university, city or region. In many cases there might be a number of local groups functioning on a particular problem as well as a national task force of which they would be a part.

Each group would be made up of people interested in and working on a particular topic or problem. The composition of the study groups is important. Ideology and political strategy will not be discovered by a solely intellectually-based enterprise. People should be participating in these groups who have experience in the grass roots of the movement, as well as people who bring certain intellectual competences.

1. The functions of task force groups will be
 - a. to undertake original research developing important aspects of their area
 - b. to review and make available existing knowledge
 - c. to organize conferences, develop special educational materials, serve as liaison between the movement and other groups
 - d. to speak to SDS or other "movement" groups
 - e. to serve as consultants in the formation of action programs and strategies
 - f. to publish papers, pamphlets, books and discussions

2. The structure of each group would vary according to the desires of the people and the nature of the subject matter and the tasks undertaken. In general:

- a. each group would have a coordinator responsible for maintaining communication within the group and with the general program
- b. the names of its members would be distributed to SDS chapters and other interested groups for speaking or consultant work
- c. an internal newsletter would circulate among groups
- d. central coordination of all groups would facilitate printing and distribution of papers

The study groups and task forces are seen as active working associations, not passive mailing lists. The products of the groups will be generally available to the movement and the public. The internal process as reflected in the newsletter and distribution of draft papers will be restricted to those actively engaged in the work of the group and willing to take on its responsibilities.

Being realistic about people's other commitments, it is unlikely that any individual would be a member of more than one, or at most two, groups.

The REP Program

Toward a New Ideology for Radical Social Change:

1. The current movement is not ideological. There are a number of reasons for this:
 - a. The basic education of the university avoids issues of fundamental conflict and gives little attention to the seminal thinkers who speak to the politics of our times.
 - b. The idealistic morality of the activists leads them to ignore or distrust intellectual analysis.
 - c. The conditions of direct action and community organization do not naturally encourage broad analysis and wholistic thinking.
 - d. Present intellectual analysis is often too general and thus seldom applicable to specific situations in which radicals attempt to induce change.
 - e. Past ideological models, particularly those of European radicalism, have not proven themselves directly applicable to the contemporary American scene.
2. Nonetheless, ideology and political education generally, are essential for the deepening of the left movement. There are two ways in which one can speak of "ideology":

In the traditional sense, all people have an ideology. Ideology is the view of the world which a particular group has; it serves to

integrate the individuals in that group into the dominant social order, to channel their perception and provide the values and evolutions which serve as moral reference points. The prevailing American ideology involves the adjustment of the myths of the "American way of life"--free enterprise, individualism, progress, pluralism, pragmatism, etc.--to the particular social conditions of people in different social locations. This adjustment gives meaning and integrity to one's life while at the same time justifying and giving legitimacy to the major elements of the status quo.

An individual's ideology is his way of seeing his relation to the main processes of the society and understanding the causation of events important to him. The individual has "false consciousness" to the extent that his ideology masks his "true" position in the social order, distorts the "actual" causation of events, and hides the ways in which his interests are offended by dominant power or class interests.

3. The objective of any radical movement is to break down "false consciousness." It seeks to reveal to an individual--by facts, by emotionally powerful experience and by argument--the realities of his actual life situation. And it seeks continually to counterpose that reality to his beliefs about his life, revealing weakness of prevailing myth, the contradiction between myth and reality. The faith of the radical is that, in the conflict between the daily life situation and the myths which the society propagates to explain and disguise that situation, the former will be the more powerful and have the stronger psychological grip.

There are two poles to this process. As the radical movement probes the discrepancies between what is and what people in different situations believe in and identify as good, and as it includes new segments of the population in its ranks, it must itself continually revise its social analysis, reassess its formulation of values and reconsider its vision of the good society. It is out of this on-going interaction between exposure and reformulation that radical ideology comes into being.

The success of a radical movement depends in the long run on its ability to sustain this process. First it must break down the myths on which the legitimacy of power relations is based. Then it can seek the withdrawal of an individual's support from institutions whose activities offend his interests. For the movement to sustain this process it must have: a) an accurate understanding of the life situation of those it seeks to change; b) an abundance of factual information and styles of presentation which force a confrontation between myth and reality; c) the ability to create "conflict situations" which give psychological force to the confrontation; d) a counter-view of man and society to which it seeks to transfer people's loyalties and energies; e) and a commitment to continue analysis and reevaluation of its experience. A major purpose of REP will be to sensitize the movement to these prerequisites and to organize its intellectual resources so that they can be better realized.

4. The second way of viewing ideology is related to this last requirement of a radical movement. When people in the movement speak of ideology, they generally mean a view of the world which makes manifest their radical values. Ideology in this sense has several interrelated components: a) a statement of basic values on which society should be organized; b) a picture of society, utopia, in which these values would be realized; c) a description of the existing society in terms of its departure from this ideal, and an analysis of the causes and historical genealogy of the current situation; d) a view of strategy, of how active human intervention can move society from its present situation to the ideal, including a view of the forms of action necessary, the key targets of change efforts and the key agents necessary to accomplish the change.

Ideology in this second sense is obviously crucial to any radical movement. It is the intellectual commitment which the movement seeks to make an integral part of people's lives. And it is the basic framework of analysis by which the movement approaches particular problem situations, by which it measures its tactics and through which it seeks to make its particular actions reinforcing towards its general objectives. Radical (or utopian) ideology is that which the movement seeks to counterpose to American (status quo) ideology.

One aim of the Radical Education Project is to assist the movement in better understanding American ideology and to develop more clearly and effectively radical ideology.

Four Areas of Study

- I. Values and Utopia
- II. Myth and Reality
 - A) The American Ideology
 - B) National Political Economy; problems and structures
 - C) Political Economy; problems and structures
 - D) Cultural Institutions in Tensions
 - E) Mass Media, Advertising and the Arts
- III. Strategies of Change
- IV. Programs Toward New Constituencies

One caution should be noted. There will be a good deal of overlap among these areas. Their differentiation is more for descriptive convenience than to suggest any inherent differences in their function. They serve as an agenda of our intellectual deficiencies and needs. Actual topics will be defined by what people are doing. The priorities will be set by what people are most willing and competent to do.

I. Values and Utopia

A. VALUE PROBING

Man is the end and man is the measure. The rock bottom foundation of radical ideology is a view of human possibility and of the social environment in which man's possibilities may be realized. A crucial and often neglected task of the movement is the definition and critical scrutiny of its own values and their implications in the "good society," in the existing reality, and in the movement itself. To argue that such probing does not lead to become rigid and dogmatic is not to discredit the need for tentative ongoing examination of the value bases of the new radicalism.

1. In the good society: There is a wide range of divergent attitudes within the movement about many values that might form the basis of the good society. These value differences underlie

debates on goals, and decisions on program and strategy, but they are rarely made explicit, much less honestly examined: isolation vs. community; conflict vs. harmony; variety vs. homogeneity; anguish vs. happiness; creativity vs. adjustment; argument vs. consensus; indulgence vs. austerity; impulse vs. deliberation; beauty vs. utility; individual defiance vs. the general welfare, etc. These variations of radical temperament are closely linked to the image one has of the "good society." It is important that this range of overlapping polarities be made explicit and then subject to debate.

2. In the existing reality: In confronting the realities of modern society, it is essential to recognize the value implications inherent in our developing institutions. This is not mere intellectual exercise; we need this analysis if we are to make

day to day decisions about our relationship with existing institutions that are responsible to our ideals and instrumental to our long range goals. What are the value potentialities of the new technology? Would the release from full time work create freedom or ennui? Is it bad for people to be alienated from the production of the goods and services they consume? Is rock 'n' roll a "healthy" cultural development, or a sign of malaise? Are all existing instances of private enterprise antithetical to our values? How do we relate to riots? to the sexual revolution? to pornography? to LSD? Is representational democracy per se incompatible with our values? Ought all needs now cared for by private philanthropy to be the responsibility of public agencies? Are we against all instances of the state imposing forced behaviour upon individuals (as is often stated in anti-draft action)? How permissible should education be? Are all social stratifications in conflict with our values?

What is our attitude toward anti-colonial and socialist movements that are totalitarian? authoritarian? etc.

3. In the Movement: An analogous range of questions confronts us in our relationships with each other within the movement: Should all decisions be made through participatory democracy, or do elites have a legitimate function? Can politics be completely forthright, or is manipulation necessary or desirable under some conditions? When ought we to strive for consensus and when is conflict desirable? On what kinds of issues does a majority not have the right to impose its will on a minority? What is the range of individual choice desirable and tolerable within the movement? What are our responsibilities and attitudes toward the "second class citizens" of the student movement: community people, Negroes, women, the less educated, the less intelligent? etc.

B. STUDIES OF HUMAN POTENTIALITY AND THE GOOD SOCIETY: REALITY CHECKING.

We have said that man is the beginning point and the end of radical ideology. The serious study of human nature and human potentiality is a valid and indeed crucial aspect of building a new ideology. Is man creative or ordinary? Is his goodness simply thwarted by oppressive social institutions, ready to come forth once the social oppression is removed? Or does a deformed society deeply deform men, so that human change is needed as well as social change? Is human change in a "left" direction possible at all? Is there a natural elite or is stratification and differentiation an imposition of "unnatural" power and class relations? Does man act basically from selfish motivation, or is altruism, collective improvement and transcendental motivation also possible?

A vast body of literature exists, ranging from historical accounts, to theoretical treatises, to experimental studies, which attempt to give solidity to speculations about the ultimate possibilities that exist for mankind, and the means for achieving them. Syntheses and evaluations of this work, as well as original contributions are needed as a basis of ideological orientation.

C. UTOPIA:

The most difficult issue, next to the view of man, is the style of society for which one hopes. Democratic radicalism is motivated by a concern with a range of pressing social problems and sustained by persistent criticism of current practices, policies, institutions and values. But this is not enough. The movement tends to be negative in its approach to the present and vague in its description of the better future in whose service it seeks to enlist support. It is essential that we begin to define and examine our attitudes to alternative styles and institutions of utopia. We must also begin to develop and debate concrete models of the structure of institutions and social relations that derive from our shared ideals. Such "pictures of utopia" have two functions: they carry thinking beyond the present, extending the range of debate to include many who fear immediate change yet could meet us on the common ground of long term needs. And they provide goals against which our positions, strategies and tactics on immediate issues could be measured. In general, such models would force us to come to grips, more concretely than we have, with the very difficult problems of realizing the ideals of individual freedom, creative expression, and general welfare within a complex, heterogeneous, industrialized society.

1. Institutional Issues:

Power and the state: is power good? bad? neutral? should there be a state? what power should the state have? how can the power of the state, or any bureaucracy, be controlled by the people? how can power be prevented from being oppressive? Capitalism: who should own industry? who should get the profits? government? the people through government? the people through great dispersion of stock ownership? How should industry be controlled and administered? central planning? by the workers? by the consumers? by managers maximizing efficiency? Profits: are profits bad? how do you measure efficiency and ration resources? how do you provide incentives? what are "socialist profits?" Is value produced only by labor, or does capital also produce wealth? Privilege and freedom: what limitations should be put on individual freedom? how should they be imposed? by the state? by the market? does freedom include the right to achieve higher status and privilege? Does privilege include the right to injure someone? who is to determine when there is injury? potential injury? what minimum privileges should be assured to all, as a matter of right? Free Market: what is wrong with the "free market?" If everyone had money for their basic needs, then what would be wrong with the "free market?" what kinds of alternatives are there? These hard questions need answers.

2. Models of Utopia:

- a) the political institutionalization of participatory democracy in the United States: kinds of national party system, voting, representative techniques, accountability, means of national policy formation, decentralization, etc. How much knowledge and information and intelligence do people need, what about people who don't want to participate?
- b) the nature of production, industrial structure and control: role of planning, locally and nationally; role of workers con-

trol and decentralization; role of public ownership or management of major segments of the economy; how to determine and finance public sector expenses, how to maintain efficiency and personal incentives, etc.

- c) family life: what kind of family, marriage and living circumstances, the education of children, sex, homosexuality, equality of women, dominance of men over women, etc.
- d) the nature of work and income: what kinds of jobs, what kinds of opportunities, what kinds of alienation and meaning, how to use automation, how to distribute income, relation of work and leisure, how does the average uncreative, lazy, beer-drinking, television-watching person fit in...

e) other "utopian models": descriptions of the ideal social structure envisioned by "socialists," "anarchists," "communists," "technocrats," "laissez faire capitalists," etc.

- 3. Left and Right. Many people have noted similarities between idealists on both ends of the political spectrum: an absolute commitment to individual freedom, opposition to centralized state power, guaranteed minimum income, opposition to massive private economic power, belief that ordinary people should own the productive wealth, etc. Even the Goldwater slogan: "extremism in defense of liberty is no vice, and moderation in pursuit of justice is virtue" we can take as our own. It may be important, in seeking ideological clarity, to examine some of the key issues to which the idealists on both right and left speak.

II. Myth and Reality

Observation of the surrounding reveals the distance between what is and what is supposed to be. We must identify what is myth and what is reality. But at the same time, we must not ourselves mythologize the discrepancies, make them into slogans, and ourselves into mere dissenters lacking historical and institutional understanding necessary for effective political action. Too often the movement generalizes the policy abuses of government or private power groups to the whole of the society: Government is corrupt, the middle class is shallow, privatistic and amoral, the working class has sold out, the upper class is conspiratorial. The cities are ugly, the mass media are vacuous opiates, the countryside is plundered by one form or another of money grabber. Everywhere, commercialism, advertising and deceit abound. Religion institutionalizes hypocrisy. The powerful oppress the weak at every occasion. Racism is ingrained in the heart of our America and imperialism is her life blood. It is important for the movement to go beyond these cliches. We must be much more pointed in our social criticism. There must be continuing debate about what, specifically, we don't like in America, and want to change, what we don't care about, and what we like and want to preserve.

The analysis of political reality requires a number of separate but interlocking studies. Each of the studies must draw on the others, and collectively they become the basis for making judgements on political strategy.

- A. The American Ideology
- B. The World Reality
- C. The National Political Economy: problems and structures
- D. Cultural Institutions in Tension
- E. Mass Media and Arts

A. THE AMERICAN IDEOLOGY

Most Americans believe America is good. They believe that progress is inherent in the structure of its institutions, that its political

relations with other countries serve to protect and extend freedom, and that its economic relations abroad are both fair and mutually beneficial. They believe that America is engaged in a life and death struggle with international Communism and that the imperatives of this conflict require some sacrifice in the rate of domestic progress. By and large the country is moderate and humane in its foreign policy and sincere in its dedication to improvement at home.

- 1. There are a number of beliefs that seem central to this optimistic view of America:

- a) The free market, in which firms operate for profit and workers compete for wages, is the best way to allocate scarce resources and to distribute goods and rewards.
- b) In a complex, industrialized society, the existence of large competing corporations, directed by professional managers, and marginally regulated by government, is necessary for efficient production of the most needed, best quality goods and services and the highest standard of living for the general population.
- c) Private property is the basis of human freedom, and the motivator of individual initiative; anything communist or socialist is a threat to that freedom.
- d) America is the greatest, most powerful country on earth. It is the finest manifestation of Western, white traditions, and it is the civilizer and benefactor of non-Western, non-white peoples.
- e) America is under attack by international Communism. This conflict creates a world-wide division between good and evil, leaving no middle ground and permeating all international events.
- f) Civility is the basic standard of morality. Extremism, revolution, intemperance, impoliteness, impatience, disrespect for authority all threaten the "natural order" of human relations.
- g) The great problems of economic, political and human relations

are solved, America is moving at a rapid pace in the right direction. The complex of different interests both ~~intervall~~ and complement one another, protecting and advancing the interests of all.

There are other beliefs--in mobility, progress, individualism, achievement, competition, localism and strength--and these are but the most obvious. A continuing problem is to identify the basic beliefs that underlie people's actions.

These ideas and slogans capsule important parts of American thinking. Collectively, they make up what can be called the American ideology. The power of these ideas is that they are held to be both good and true, accurate descriptions of reality and of the ideal. Thus they serve to justify the existence, and indeed the everlasting permanence, of the institutions, policies and practices with which they are identified.

These ideas do not exist in a vacuum. Their primacy reflects the resolution of particular historical struggles. They are, in a sense, the battle cries of the winning sides in those struggles, invested with moral transcendence as a symbol and as a justification of that victory. The extent to which they are accepted and embraced by the general population is a measure of the extent to which people have accepted and adapted themselves to the particular terms of political-economic settlement they represent.

2. The analysis of ideology involves a number of important and difficult problems:

- a) to identify these ideas precisely and historically: the forces which brought them to primacy, the opposing forces and the terms of struggle, the ideas against which they were pitted, the current deployment of these forces and the current strength of the counter-ideological views against which they prevail.
- b) to identify the way these ideas function--the different political or institutional forces that now make use of them, the different ways they are expressed, the institutions which they obscure or justify or support.
- c) to identify the way they function in conflict situations, to direct moral nous, to narrow or skew the range of "legitimate" options for decisions or change.
- d) to identify the ways in which different classes and segments of the population interpret ideas, and the way the ideas function to make experience intelligible and meaningful.
- e) to identify the techniques, appeals and institutional mediators by which they are promulgated and reinforced.
- f) to identify which of these ideas are "important," which are essential to the justification of current political-economic relations, and which are simply obsolete or irrelevant carry-overs from earlier historical periods.

3. To turn these descriptive studies to political use, we must ask an additional set of questions:

- a) How do these ideas compare with reality? For what groups are they most true, for what groups do they most contribute to false consciousness?
- b) How do they compare with the values of radical democracy--separating their ideological function from their moral denotation--are we for them or against them?
- c) What are the tensions and contradictions among these ideas? Are there logical contradictions; are there empirical incompatibilities?
- d) Are there other ideas, having some measure of legitimacy, which can serve as competing points of reference, e.g. democracy, equality of opportunity, individual freedom, public accountability, ethnic integrity, non-aggression and commitment to peace, the general welfare?

4. The purpose of this analysis should be to enable the activist to recognize the functioning of ideological forces in his day to day work, to understand the arguments and evidence used to bolster those forces, and to anticipate the kind of appeal and the weaknesses or vulnerabilities they will have in particular types of situations.

The intent is not to reject these ideas so much as to demythologize them, to identify their social sources, their social functions and their place in the thinking of various segments of the American population. On the basis of this understanding, the movement can better gain some leverage against the binding force with which these ideas hold Americans to the particular institutions of the status quo.

B. THE WORLD REALITY

In recent years, Cuba, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic have forced us to confront the public and private, overt and covert relations the United States maintains with the rest of the world. Yet even the most committed opponents of the present war in Vietnam offer little analysis of the dynamics of revolution, the foundations of our foreign policy, the relationship between American abundance and third world poverty, or the effects of the cold war on Western Europe, the Soviet Union and the third world. And there is almost no informed discussion--though there is much passionate polemic--about the tension between our desire for revolutionary war and the threat of resulting nuclear disaster; the strains imposed on political democracy by the drive for economic development; or the long-range consequences of Soviet-American cooperation vis-a-vis the third world.

Much of our failure is rooted in our seeming inability to break out of categories created by the mythologies of the cold war. We have been inundated with propaganda about the rosy state of our allies; third world neutrals are naive and easily manipulated; the communists are monolithic in their disregard for liberty and their treacherous operations; our foreign aid exemplifies an unmatched benevolence. If leftist students appear to develop quite opposite impressions, even dogmatism, or avoid basic questions, it often represents an angry reaction to conventional wisdom, if not lies, rather than an evaluation of facts.

In general, two counter world views are now advanced to explain the foundations of American foreign policy: (1) in its effort to promote democracy and freedom around the globe, the United States opposes totalitarian systems, especially the communist variety; (2) in order to support its relative abundance, America uses its economic and military supremacy to expand its influence and control over the rest of the world.

In order to go beyond cold war categories and erect an accurate analysis of American foreign policy and the world situation, it is imperative we return to basic facts. Facts are important tools; they can break the complacent acceptance of official history, and can open people not only to new policy ideas, but to a new morality on which to base policy. Moreover, they provide the basis for a reasoned analysis which will enable student activists to maintain their moral fervor after they leave the supportive campus environment.

Organizing the facts: Some problems can best be handled on a survey basis, deemphasizing the geographical, social or chronological setting; others are better approached on an individual country or regional basis. Task forces should be formed in a number of general problem areas along the following lines:

1. The United States:

- a) The formulators and executors of American foreign policy: the role of diplomats, foreign embassies, the military, the intelligence community, Congress, political parties, private corporations, banks, law firms, the academicians, labor unions, ethnic and religious groups, the Council of Foreign Relations, et al; mechanics of penetration, manipulation and control.
- b) The international political economy: the size, composition and distribution of overseas investments, trade and assistance; the extent to which the American economy in general and more specific industries and regions are dependent on international operations; competition from foreign companies and firms; surpluses, the balance of payments, borrowing abroad, and the international money market.
- c) The extent of American military operations: the location and size of American military power; military assistance; covert activities; the effects of weapons technology on world strategy.

2. Western Europe:

- a) Prosperity and integration: the source and capital used to finance recovery; dependence on the United States; resurgent nationalism, and breaking through the cold war; the basis and operation of the Common Market; state planning, socialism, and private enterprise.
- b) Politics and labor: the ideological complexion, program, organization, and social bases of communist, socialist, liberal, agrarian, Christian, charismatic, and fascist parties; relations between unions and parties; the extent of inter-European cooperation between parties; sources and uses of party and union funds; student movements.

- c) The international political economy: the impact of declining colonialism; size, composition and distribution of overseas investment, trade and assistance; market advantages in competition in the British Commonwealth and French Union; the impact of American capital and investment; increasing economic contact with the Soviet bloc in competition with the United States; the support of international monetary units.

3. The Soviet Bloc:

- a) The meaning of peaceful co-existence: the spheres of cooperation; policy formation by the bureaucrats and technocrats; the transition to a consumer society; the internal factions, resistance and the possibilities for increasing democracy.
- b) Military and covert activity: the location and size of military power; military assistance; subversion; relations with local communist parties; the effects of weapons technology on world strategy.
- c) The international political economy: the size, composition and distribution of overseas trade and assistance; dependence on international operations; capital from the West; competition with capitalist countries and firms; cooperation among socialist countries; surplus capital and the international money market.
- d) Special relations with communist countries: the dynamics of the Sino-Soviet split; declining influence and control in Eastern Europe; support for Cuba, North Vietnam, and North Korea.

4. The Third World:

- a) The dynamics of revolution: the social basis, organization and operation of revolutionary warfare; violence, factions, and the role of internal democracy; consolidating power and moves toward coalitions; the role of an emerging bourgeoisie; the prospects for successful revolution on a world-wide, coordinated scale; the possible effects of third world revolutions on power relationships in the United States.
- b) Economic development and the accumulation of capital: the different sources and uses of capital; expropriation versus foreign investment; the impact of American, Western European, and Soviet trade and assistance; international commodity markets; monocultures, and the need for diversification; planning, technology and human resources; the requirements for a high growth rate; the possibilities for democracy, mass participation and individual liberty during rapid economic development.
- c) Political parties and social movements: the types of political parties, labor unions, student movements and religious groups that emerge during and after revolution; the power and threat of mass communications and propaganda.
- d) The threat of counter-revolution: comparing the impact of American, Western European and Soviet responses to revolution; the strengths and weaknesses of counter-insurgency strategies; the changing role of the armed forces and the

prospects for military coups; reinforcing cooperation among revolutionary movements and governments; the scope and effect of subversion; cultural imperialism; political victory and economic failure.

5. The World as a Whole:

What are the prospects for and against disarmament, permanent reduction of hostilities, and greater political, economic and cultural co-ordination among the major nations: What are the conflicts and compatibilities between nationalist revolutions and internationalism? between local hostilities and world peace?

Educational Pamphlets: "Nations Series": Individuals and task forces should take responsibility for preparing basic pamphlets on various countries. These should not be new text books but rather summaries of a country's social, economic, and political situation with emphasis on politics (parties, factions, positions); its trade unions; the nature of the left opposition, international relations--both politically and economically; institutional forms and programs of interest to American radicals. The role of United States military, political and business interests in the country must be documented, as well as its position in the Cold War and third world power context. There should also be an annotated bibliography and guide to primary sources of information.

There is a need also for information about the various alliance systems and international organizations that divide and unify the world: e.g. NATO, Warsaw Pact, Organization of American States, SEATO, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc.

C. THE NATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

The left sees that change in institutional structure is essential for the solution of problems. It is not sufficient to put good men in office, or good ideas in the heads of the captains of industry. Economic and political forces have a way of transcending the good intentions of the individuals that mediate them.

The domestic reality is the immediate political context of the left movement. The type of analysis that is needed must do two things. It must identify the problems that exist. And it must describe the forces and institutional structures which produce problems or prevent their solution. We must be precise about what we want to change before we can pin-point the institutional forces which prevent that change.

1. Problems: The following list of problems is not meant to be exhaustive, nor are the particulars seen as distinct. Hopefully some of these problems will be dealt with as clusters.

a) problems of an economic underclass

poverty
unemployment
restricted mobility
slum housing
exploitation of unskilled workers
regional and rural underdevelopment etc.

b) problems of capitalist abundance

maldistribution of goods--nationally and internationally
underproduction of services
waste and pollution of natural resources
forced and irrational consumption: space, military, luxuries
exploitation of other countries
allocation for profit rather than need
etc.

c) problems of democracy

racism
police brutality
militarism
non-accountability of bureaucratic power
repression of radical dissent
political non-representation
etc.

d) problems of life equality

mis-education
materialism and sterility as cultural standards
alienation in work
mental breakdown and escapism (drugs, alcoholism, etc.)
boring, stultifying life routine
individual powerlessness and anomie
etc.

e) new conditions of the modern world

new technology
population explosion
urbanization
etc.

In each case, the dimensions of the problem, the groups or classes it affects, its causation and its relation with other problems must be identified. What groups benefit from the existence of the problem--or would be hurt by its solution? What ideological adjustment makes it possible for the society to live with the problem? What are the attempts of the system to deal with it? To what degree are these efforts successful; well intentioned failures; or mere shams? What is the response to the problem by those affected, either in political insurgency, or social withdrawal, or violence and disruption? What are the challenges which this response has posed to the institutions and ideology of established power?

2. Structures: Human frailty or absolute, scarcity of needed resources may lie at the root of some problems. But for the most part, the problems described are not inevitable, nor are they the product of deformed men, as much as they are of deformed institutions. The abundance of America could make possible an end to poverty and oppression, with a materially rich and culturally vital life for all. But it does not. Men are bound to certain kinds of jobs rather than others; they are forced to seek fulfillment in certain kinds of pursuits rather than others; their survival and self respect are made contingent on brutalizing "competitors" for survival and self respect. These social deformations are the

consequence of the sorts of opportunities available and the institutional framework of political economy which creates and limits opportunities.

Radical analysis must dissect the American political economy in order to lay bare the way in which it produces particular problems and the way in which it prevents or distorts their solution. This analysis provides the material, not only for political attack on those institutions, but also for those proposals necessary to their restructure. The analysis must deal with:

- a) the structure and functioning of the corporate economy
- b) the technology and social relations of production
- c) the military-industrial complex
- d) the structure and functioning of welfare state institutions
- e) the varieties of community power structure
- f) political decision making--the party system and legislative process
- g) the structure and functioning of the court system and constitutional law
- h) the control and use of information in mass communication
- i) the control and use of the means of violence
- j) the dynamics of co-optation

REP will attempt to organize research groups on the elements of the political economy such as those listed above. The value of this work will be dependent on more than descriptive precision. It must identify the dynamics of change and conflict resolution within each of these elements, the tensions between different aspects of the political economy, the ideological expression or justification of each aspect and the differential appeal of the ideology to different classes or groups affected by the institutional form.

D. CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN TENSION

1. The reason for studying cultural institutions is not to create well rounded radicals. Analysis of the conflicts that are manifested in activities and institutions that are not directly economic or political--the family, voluntary organizations, churches, schools--is a necessary component in the development of a strategy of change.

- a) Cultural institutions and activities provide the immediate and concrete context in which ordinary people of all classes locate their lives, and experience the problems of society. The institutions of political economy are distant. For the most part their functioning is experienced only indirectly. It is within the cultural institutions and activities that people usually set out the tensions and discontents that stem from political and economic sources. To understand the grievances of the Negro, the adolescent, the woman, the executive, the

situations most revealing of their ideas and emotions must be studied.

- b) Although most individuals can exercise little control over political and economic institutions, they are able to give form to the smaller, intermediate cultural organizations. Deviance and conformity reveal themselves more clearly within these structures, especially since the emotional investment people make in them is often very great. And since people feel some personal connection with them, these structures often serve as bases for discussion and expression of social criticism.
- c) Because they have such great access to most people and such great importance in their emotional lives, cultural institutions are the chief transmitters of dominant values. But also, since they are so various and the human activity within them so personalized, centralized control is more difficult. Thus they allow a relatively wide latitude for idiosyncratic solutions to problems. This freedom may provide the potential for the development of radical ideology.
- d) There is significant movement now going on within cultural institutions. Segments of churches and of school systems, many artists, some women and adolescents have begun to challenge certain aspects of the dominant American way of life. Radicals must not only encourage such movements but must influence them, building on discontents and marginal rebellions, seeking to reveal root institutional malfunctions. In this way tensions which are initially expressed within the cultural arena can be directed toward a total reassessment of the society, in its political and economic aspects as well as its cultural ones.

The REP program should involve people in the task of analyzing the points of conflict that exist in cultural institutions and their relations to economic and political interests; making them visible to people in the movement so that they can be integrated into radical thinking, and to people outside the movement, so that these people can become conscious of the discrepancies that pervade their lives.

2. Some suggested problems to be studied:

- a) Churches: Religious institutions basically embody and defend the established values. But every major denomination in America is fraught with cleavages that center around issues ranging from theological dogma to private morality to war and peace. What are the sources, in experience and values, of these splits? What are the issues? How extensive are they? Where are they located? What problems do they reveal about society? At what points do the left wing perspectives of church groups meet those of the radical movement? What resources do left segments of churches afford the movement? What leverage do these groups have with the wider society?
- b) Schools: Education is supposed to be the most democratic institution in American society. In fact it fosters conformity, but radicals, in reacting to this system tend to describe it as though it were a static, reactionary monolith. They ignore the great diversity of educational institutions and values as they exist today. We need concrete analysis of the tensions and potentialities that exist in the educational system. What is the

range of educational perspective in the U.S.? Which are the "good schools"? Why are they good? Who runs them? What values or interests do they represent? How do good and bad schools come into being? How do schools transmit ideology? How do they change? Is it possible to create a radical generation by gaining power in the educational system? If so, what are the principles of education that we would introduce into schools? For what should children be educated? By whom? By what means? Are there people working within schools with whose aims we sympathize? If so, what forms of cooperative efforts are possible?

c) Families: Along with churches and schools, families have traditionally been the key vehicle of maintaining social cohesiveness and socializing the young. Yet today the family is in a state of major flux. Monogamy, chastity, clear division of sex role, parental authority in intellectual as well as moral and social spheres, power as the values that keep families together and give them their influence. How do families operate as transmitters of social values? What are the roots of the decay of the traditional nuclear family? Is a new form of family evolving? What relationships or institutions will take over the job of socializing the young? To whom will they turn for moral and social guidance? What effect does the continuing process of emancipation of women have? Does rejection of orthodox sexual mores lead to altered perception of the whole value framework of the society? What do new styles of adolescent culture tell us about young people's discontents and fears? Can the confusion, sterility and conflict that characterize much of American family life be a lever for raising broader issues about the society?

d) Voluntary organizations: Americans, more than any other people, form and join voluntary organizations, such as fraternal orders, charitable groups, social clubs, political parties. What are the patterns of organizational involvement among Americans today? How stable are the value and action commitments of individuals as revealed by their participation in voluntary groups? How much deviance from the dominant ideals and attitudes of the society are expressed through such groups? Do they serve as insulators between members and real issues? How do groups influence the behavior and attitudes of their members? How resistant are voluntary organizations to change--of goal, values, activity, membership? Can they serve as means of raising basic issues? Are there large voluntary organizations having segments within them already sympathetic with left wing goals?

E. MASS MEDIA, ADVERTISING AND THE ARTS

In recent years the importance of the traditional mechanisms of value and information transmission have been eclipsed by the growth of a gigantic new system of communication and influence--news-papers, magazines, television, advertising, Hollywood culture.

1. In an important sense all of the aspects of "mass culture" can be subsumed under the rubric "advertising." Taken together they form a coherent network of heavily value-laden information, dispensed in the service of the free enterprise way of life.

a) The system is all-pervasive: the clothes we wear, the friends we choose, our occupational aspirations, our attitudes toward violence are influenced and constantly reinforced by images and messages that impinge upon our daily lives.

b) The system is insidious: messages and images are absorbed without consciousness. Discrepancies remain undisclosed. Even the choice of tuning out is denied us; as we drive in our cars, ride our buses, shop for food or walk along the street we are inundated with literally thousands of messages a day, messages which we barely perceive but which influence our behavior.

c) The system is the life line of capitalism, the cold war, racism, middle class values. Without the constant stream of images and messages re-inforcing our prejudices, harangues urging us to acquire and causing deep anxiety if we have not the means, propaganda portraying world affairs as a morality play, American economic and political policy could not sustain itself in its present form.

d) The system is an information monopoly: there exists no counter-force with access to data and audience that is strong enough to offset the effectiveness of the mass media.

e) The system is privately owned and aligned with the most powerful economic, military and political interests. It is a private instrument, enforcing the will of and insuring the dominance of the established order.

For the left wing to respond to this conglomerate leviathan, we must know more specifically how these media work. Who controls them? How do they maintain their control? What interests and values do they cater to? Are there tendencies within the mass media and arts that provide opportunity for radical change or influence? How valuable are single issue muckraking attacks that gain access to the media? Are there elements of control in the media sympathetic to the radical movement? How can we use them?

2. What we usually designate as the popular or mass arts are produced primarily to serve the dominant economic and political interests and to transmit their values. They pervade our leisure and stimulate our emotions. The tensions and frustrations produced by the real world are channeled into a fantasy world where the American dream comes true. They give us vicarious experience of the good life--where men are men and women are women, truth prevails, virtue is rewarded and everything is clean and scrubbed. While such arts are often innovative in the sense that they create new means of transmitting their message and captivating their audience, the ultimate aim for which they exist is determined by forces external to them. The artist becomes a technician and his unique personal perception is subordinated to the exigencies of his employer or the market or his desire for acceptance and good reviews from good (status quo) critics or buyers. Thus for the most part, there is no truly independent and fundamental innovation in the popular or mass arts.

3. The innovative arts: The potentially innovative arts are those whose purpose, content and form comes into existence because they express the artistic, political and philosophical concerns of

the artist. This is not a distinction of genre: crafts such as the design and production of useful objects, the composition of songs meant to be sung by amateurs can be innovative if they are independent. The fact that objects are designed for people to wear, live in or eat out of does not eliminate the possibility of real creative innovation.

While innovation is not necessarily radical, there does exist in America today a vital and diverse community of radical innovation in the arts. The creative vitality of radical social consciousness expresses itself in many ways which are not explicitly political or intellectual. Writers, filmmakers, artists, photographers, craftsmen and critics often struggle at the far edge of radical sensibility, seeking a deeper understanding of the human condition.

Not only must these efforts be encouraged and supported for their own sake, and not only must the public for these efforts be extended, but the movement itself must be brought closer to the creative proings of the radical artist. The humanism which provides the moral basis of the movement is often distorted and narrowed by an almost philistine preoccupation with the purely political. Art is often seen as an instrument of propaganda and the artist as a "resource" who should subordinate his particular talent to immediate poster and pamphlet needs. In this, the movement perverts its own utopian ideal of a society where personal creativity is valued and each man is encouraged to develop and express the best that is within him.

We obviously reject the idea that the obligation of a radical artist is to produce art which serves and glorifies this movement. Just as strongly do we reject the idea that the only art of interest to a radical is art with explicit political content.

The "radical artist" is a designation of self-image. It is a

person who feels commitment to the objectives and ideals of the radical movement and who sees his work as an outgrowth of that commitment. Radical art may have direct political referents. Often it deals with broader, more universal problems of man and the human condition. That art is "non-political" or inconclusive does not make it irrelevant to the movement. It is probably to those problems for which politics does not offer clear answers that it is most important for political activists to be sensitive.

The ultimate goal of the REP program in the arts should be to bring to public consciousness the role of sensibility in sustaining or altering values and institutions. To accomplish this, REP must first provide for the movement itself an analysis of the way in which the arts function in giving order to our environment, molding our sensibilities, supporting or challenging the legitimacy of existing ideas and realities, and creating new visions of life that lie beyond the frontier of discursive knowledge.

The major area of concern in REP should be research and criticism. Many people in and around the movement are developing new forms of art criticism, discussing the social meaning of contemporary art and the significance of art in the process of social and human change. Such work should be published and extended. Specific questions must be formulated and investigated: What are the assumptions and values upon which current art criticism is based? What forces control and influence the development of the artist, the production of work, the granting of rewards, the consumption of art? How do the arts influence us? How does their influence have implication beyond artistic preference itself--in forming political and moral values? What would the role of the arts be in the "good society"? What social institutions could best provide a fertile environment for art? A radical magazine of the arts would provide an excellent outlet for disseminating the results of such research.

III. Strategies of Change

Flowing out of goals and analysis, the movement must formulate strategies for change. It must determine not only the forces of motion in the society, but also how to orient and develop its own resources in terms of those forces. REP projects four types of studies in this area:

- A. Social movements and revolutions
- B. Potential agents for change
- C. Theoretical conceptions of strategy
- D. Identification of strategic issues in the movement
- E. Policy

A. Social Movements and Revolutions in America and Elsewhere: Just as the left draws on the ideas of other thinkers, it can, and must learn from the strategies, tactics and historical experience of other social movements. This study group would be concerned

with the development of case studies of such movements. It would attempt, in each case, to identify: the objectives and goals of the movement, and if successful the kind of society it produced; its ideology; its forms of organization; its strategies and tactics in action; its problems of bureaucratization; the reasons for its failures or success and its relevance for the current American situation. Other questions involve its desired internal style, how it measured up to that, and how it coped with the problems of growth and consolidation and communication. Such case studies might include:

- 1) In America: a) the American Labor movement
- b) the civil rights movement
- c) the populist movement
- d) the socialist movement and Socialist Party
- e) the abolitionist movement

- f) the communitarian movements of the 19th century
 - g) the Communist Party movement
 - h) the Progressive Party
 - i) the league for Industrial Democracy and SLID
 - j) community organization a la Alinsky and ERAP
 - k) the American Revolution
 - l) right wing movements, like the John Birch Society
 - m) the New Deal
- 2) Elsewhere:
- a) the Russian Revolution
 - b) the Chinese Revolution
 - c) the Cuban Revolution
 - d) "third world" anti-colonial movements
 - e) the post-war British Labor Party
 - f) the Hungarian Revolution
 - g) Scandinavian social democracies
 - h) the Gandhian movements of non-violence
 - i) the Fabian Society
 - j) the Yugoslavian development

In each case it would be important to have annotated bibliography and to identify the major controversies about events and interpretation.

B. Potential Agents of Change

1. America is a highly organized society. Radicals must function within this organized context. It is clear that social change is a product of a coalition of forces. At the base of any such coalition, if it is to produce radical change, must be independent insurgencies, insurgencies committed to the idea of the people taking into their own hands the forces shaping their lives and futures.

A difficult problem concerns the relation between these insurgencies, which we are working to build, and the more established or organized "agents of change." In understanding and being able to influence this relationship, rests the key to successful political strategy.

The prerequisite for this understanding is a detailed knowledge of "liberal" and "progressive" organizational structures. In general we need to know a great deal about the organizational structure, the character of leadership and any internal factions, its links with the larger society, the processes of decision-making, the positions on salient issues, the nature and recruitment of membership, its

press, and the major issues of internal controversy, the freedom of left opposition internally and the historical development of current rigidities in the institution. If it is an ideological organization, we need to know its ideology or its debates on ideology: its highest strategic priorities, its view of democracy and civil liberties, its view of the process of world change and domestic politics, its view of the nature of the "American state," its view of the Soviet state and of Cold War politics, imperialism, etc.

Study groups would be organized to develop this kind of information about several important potential "agents of change."

- a) the Democratic Party and reform democratic movements
- b) the progressive churches and religious organizations
- c) the labor movement
- d) the peace and foreign policy concerned organizations
- e) the Negro and civil rights organizations
- f) the liberal issue and reform groups
- g) the youth and student organizations
- h) the social democratic groups
- i) the Marxist ideological organizations and parties

Two other sources of change (and stability) are important to study. One is the universities and the other is the complex of "intellectual centers" in the country.

2. The University: The "new left" has, at various times, seen the university and the university-based intellectual as a key agent of social change. More recently, with the increased focus on community organization, the role of the intellectual as a change agent has been questioned. It is important to reassess this issue, both in light of our past theory and our recent experience. In connection with this, we must ask: what are the institutional links between the university and the larger society? What are the various types of universities that exist? What are the dominant values in the university and the processes of "socialization" into these values? What is the range of freedom and dissent? What is the "radical function" of the dissident? What kind of leverage or influence does the university-based intellectual have in the larger society? What are the priorities and strategies (and possibilities) of change?

This issue is not simply theoretical. Most SDS members and many of its "non-student" supporters are university-based. And many of the student members will be in universities once they finish their intellectual and radical apprenticeship. Nor can the methods of dealing with the issue be simply theoretical. There is a need for hard, empirical, case study research on such questions as: the power links of the university with government, business, military and professional institutions; the process of internal decision making, the research undertaken and its sources of support, the structuring of the curriculum, the rewarding of faculty; the effects of university education on student values and subsequent life

choices; and so forth. Research is needed not only as a base for developing strategy but also to document the case for change.

3. Intellectual Centers: While the "new left" has given much concern to the university, it has virtually ignored the role in society of the various autonomous and semi-autonomous "intellectual centers." Such groups include the RAND Corporation, the Foreign Policy Association, the Carnegie Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the Institute for Policy Studies, the Brookings Institution, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Committee for Economic Development, the Conference on Economic Progress, the Tamiment Institute, the American Assembly, the Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, and many others.

Some of these groups are the idea and innovation centers for "establishment" policy and legislation. A few are centers of the "loyal opposition" and beleaguered innovators for the left. What is the composition and policy orientation of each? How do they function? What do they publish? What are their links to power? The movement should have this information. For the most part, these groups are the vanguard of the status quo. Their current speculations will tend to be accepted fact and institutionalized policy five or ten years from now. They are perhaps the most potent agents of social change—at least if one accepts the view of the contemporary American system as dynamic and highly flexible in the solution of problems, an adaptability which can accommodate new situations and new sources of dissent without disturbing the basic distribution of power.

The movement must engage these centers in public debate. Their ideas must be understood, and where necessary, challenged. It is likely that we will often find ourselves supporting, elaborating, and transforming these ideas. Some are allies. But there is perhaps no better way to insure that our activities are relevant to the future directions of society than to keep in touch with the "non-radical" groupings that are struggling with the problems of the future.

As a first step, there should be a study group that would regularly review the output of these centers and alert the movement to significant ideas, activities, developments and publications.

4. Theoretical conceptions of strategy: It is important to collect or prepare clear statements of some of the major strategic conceptions that are current in the movement. Strategy will not be produced in a study group, but clarity about theoretical alternatives is essential for intelligent decision-making "on the line." Papers that might be suggested here are:

- a) non-violence
- b) parallel institutions and counter-community
- c) coalition with mass liberal organizations and political realignment
- d) independent insurgency
- e) third party organization
- f) exposure à la the muckrakers
- g) permeation of ideas à la the Fabians
- h) black power

Where material has already been prepared, it should be brought together and made available. But in most cases, rigorous formulations of these conceptions have not been produced.

5. Identification of strategic issues in and for the movement: The movement needs to subject itself to the same kind of analytic scrutiny that it gives to social movements and revolutions of other countries and earlier times. It must find ways to evaluate itself more reliable than measuring press coverage or playing numbers games with demonstrations. Otherwise we risk a false consciousness of our own. The tools of sociological and organizational analysis should be applied to developing models and steps toward periodization of the movement's development; in terms of the quality of internal life, patterns of recruitment and exit from the movement, what happens to people after activism, value change affected by participation, the consolidation of constituencies, the actual achievement of program goals, and the effectiveness of various strategies and tactics in actual practice. REP will help to develop and implement research of this sort. It will also work with individual action programs in designing criteria and techniques of evaluation.

A related function of REP will be periodically to assess the movement and to identify key issues of political strategy which need debate. REP will not take a position on these issues, but it will try to provide sufficient analysis and information so that reasoned decision is possible within the movement.

6. Policy: The movement exists to solve problems. Besides identifying strategic issues the movement must have proposals as solutions (or as steps toward the solutions) of those problems. These proposals constitute its policy.

The movement organizes on the basis of discontents. At many points in the society, discontents are being manifested in on-going struggle and conflict—in universities over educational policy; in ghettos over slum housing and poverty; in unions about wages, working conditions and job security; in rural areas between small farmers, farm workers and corporate agriculture; in the political system over numerous issues of social reform; in many places about the war in Vietnam and civil rights, etc.

Power is not a value in its own right, but for what it makes possible. These struggles in which the movement participates have radical potential, for the issues they raise touch on the contradictions within the American ideology and between myth and reality. They are the struggles to which the establishment relates, seeking to prevent their extension to radical consciousness. It may employ a palliative rhetoric, or ameliorative concessions or police power, but its aim is the same; to disrupt or exhaust or co-opt discontent, to keep issues narrow, and to prevent unrest from consolidating into generalized opposition.

Radicals have an important place as activists in these struggles. But often we have been ineffective because we have not had a concrete program which makes sense to the people in motion and carries their thinking beyond the reforms or rhetoric which the system is willing to offer.

Often we function as vociferous critics and develop a certain emotional resonance with the people. But when they seek remedies,

we are able to paint no image of change beyond unending struggle. So, the discontent either atrophies, or loyalties are attached by default to "liberal programs" such as more government spending.

Another consequence of the lack of program proposals relevant to ongoing (or predictable) struggles is that the movement tends to be cut off from many important conflicts and to fall into issues where program is not needed and moral protest seems sufficient.

One job of the Radical Education Project is to assess the current conflicts and conflict issues in the society, attempting to identify where it is important for the movement to have concrete proposals, and then to help in formulating such program statements.

Among the issues where it might be important for the movement to develop specific analysis and immediate "reform" proposals are:

- Ending poverty
- Dealing with the war in Vietnam and national liberation movements
- Control of the economy
- Automation
- Income distribution
- Workers organization and unions
- Negro freedom
- Farm labor and agricultural policy
- Individual moral freedom--sex, family life, drugs, etc.
- University reform
- Public education

Urban squalor

The arts

The draft and military service

Relationship to totalitarian governments and communism

Exclusionism and non-exclusionism in the movement

Control and content of the mass media

Humanizing the welfare state

Political democracy

Taxation and inflation

Medical care

Economic development

Ending the cold war

World redistribution of American wealth

It is obviously difficult to separate programs from the organization of power to get them. And the programs envisioned here are less than our utopian views whose possibility is contingent on prior political transformation. What is needed are analyses of specific problems and concrete proposals that are relevant to existing situations of conflict; they must address concrete concerns of the discontented and at the same time reveal the nature of the structural incapacity of the political economy to satisfy those concerns. The purpose of these papers is not to expound "policy" for the movement but to provide a resource which radicals working in local situations could use as desired. It would be important in this work to compare and contrast "radical" programs to those put forth by liberals--in such terms as its assumptions, its change commitment, its potential impact on the problems, and its desirable and undesirable side effects.

IV. Programs Toward New Constituencies

Research and education are, in many situations, a basis for organization and a form of action. Where possible, REP will attempt to develop special programs to increase the potential of its educational activity to expand the scope of the movement. Thus, the study of cultural institutions will involve a self-conscious effort to establish contact with radical artists. Similarly, the research on agents of change will involve making contact with radical democrats in the various "mainstream" organizations, attempting to develop regular forms of communication among these people and between them and other groupings in the movement. The task force on the university would have as part of its aim to develop an association of university based radicals. A similar function would hold for the task force on intellectual centers.

There are four special programs now envisioned:

- a) Reform of the academic disciplines
- b) Radicals in the professions
- c) International intelligence network
- d) The arts

As the project develops, it is hoped that other programs will be formulated to help relate the movement to workers and trade

unions, to liberal religious groups and to anti-poverty and community organization programs.

A: REFORM OF THE ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES

It is well recognized that "higher education," even in our best universities, often approaches indoctrination. Universities are organized and subsidized to produce graduates who will keep America rolling. Students are molded to the values, theories, and patterns of thought which subtly and cumulatively bestow legitimacy and inevitability on the status quo. History looks often only at the mainstream; the dialectic of tension and conflict within man, his works and his society is neglected. The type of objectivity canonized in social science methodology tends often to separate knowledge from values, and thereby from public relevance. In teaching and textbooks, the insights, analyses, alternatives, and unanswered questions of the "left" are generally dismissed, distorted or ignored. In the study of literature and the arts, formalistic analysis saps man's creative products of their social meaning and thereby, often, of their spiritual impact.

Yet, the dissatisfaction felt by many students and teachers has not expressed itself in a self-conscious criticism of the method and content of the established academic disciplines. It is not enough for intellectuals to support radical action movements; they must turn their minds to a systematic reconstruction of the tools and products of their own work.

This section of the project will attempt, through the formation of task forces in a few important areas, to begin this reconstruction of intellectual theory and teaching. The initial task of each group will be to develop radical educational materials for students in introductory liberal arts courses.

These materials may be: "a thinking man's guide"--a radical critique and reformulation of the discipline geared to the introductory textbooks that students are required to use (e.g. Samuelson's text in economics); supplementary reading material and annotated bibliography; guides for the organization of "counter courses"; question and answer sequences--"scenarios"--to force the instructor and class to deal with relevant issues and to expose the value biases of the "accepted truth." These materials would be made available to SDS and other students through the local chapter and sympathetic faculty, and, hopefully also through sale at the local bookstores as a supplement to the required texts.

Initial groups will be organized in Economics, Sociology, Political Science and History. The economics group, for instance, will prepare a radicals' guide to Samuelson's Economics I text. It might develop a guide for students in labor relations and international economics. The history group might prepare a guide to introductory American History courses and Modern World History, keyed to several standard texts. Efforts will be made to organize similar groups in Philosophy, Anthropology, Psychology, Literary Criticism and other areas as interest is expressed. All of these groups could, of course, develop material geared to other than introductory courses.

The suggested material deals with the major problem areas and deficiencies in introductory undergraduate education. Their preparation and use, besides contributing to the intellectual development of students coming into the "movement," should make more coherent the intellectual substance of democratic radicalism and should make the classroom situation more exciting and dynamic for all concerned.

One problem that should be addressed is the relation of education to the "exact sciences" (physical, natural, and mathematical) to the social sciences and liberal arts, and to the left movement. While these bodies of knowledge are demonstrating more and more importance in shaping our environment and producing our "abundance," the left is showing less and less interest in their content. Intuitively, it seems important to bridge the gap. However, as to the particulars of commerce and exchange over that bridge, there is less clarity. A study group on the "exact sciences" could suggest some priorities in this area.

This program could be expanded in a number of directions: for example

- a) the formation of "caucuses" in the professional sciences serving academia
- b) the preparation of pamphlet and text book materials for high schools, e.g. a guide to the social sciences or to American history for high school students.
- c) preparation of specific critiques of educational philosophy and

curriculum in each particular field. Specific programs of reform should be developed.

- d) organizing conferences and institutes to explore problems in the field, or in the relation of the field to the "real world" and to advance interdisciplinary work.
- e) organizing "doctoral committees at large" to assist graduate students doing research or theses on problems important to radical thought and program.
- f) beginning new universities

There is no presumption here that the answers are in hand and the only job is to spread the truth that a few "radicals" already possess. Nor is there a view that "knowledge" should be adjusted to the needs of ideology. Quite the contrary, the problem is that the development and teaching of knowledge and philosophy have been adjusted to fit the society. Responsible intellectuals must seek ways and means to change society to the dictates of knowledge and philosophy. The implications and imperatives of that ideal--that knowledge should have public relevance--are little known; but they should be the concern of radicals in the universities.

B: RADICALS IN THE PROFESSIONS

The left is well aware that the professions not only give poor service to those who need it the most, but that they also enshrine conservative values and function as institutional bulwarks to the status quo. Too often, it seems that the idea of profession as a means to social status and mobility has replaced the ideal of a profession as a means of public service.

Yet many, if not most of the present campus radicals will, in a few years, themselves hold positions in the professions. The environment of the profession combined with the content of professional education or training will tend to make, increasingly, the individual's radical value commitment less and less relevant to his daily work.

Two lines of program are needed to counterbalance this natural tendency--the tendency of the society to isolate and transform the individual before he can organize and transform the society. First, there must be an intervention in the process of professional education. The value issues in the profession must be made specific and concrete. The ways and opportunities for the radical to act in the profession consistent with his value commitment must become part of professional education. And second, there need to be professional associations or "fraternities" committed to radical social involvement which can reinforce and serve as a reference group for the radical in the profession.

The REP project on the professions is directed to both of these objectives. It will attempt to organize groups of radicals in, or preparing for, professions. It will assist these groups in preparing and disseminating educational materials dealing with: the structure of the profession; the dominant values of the profession; its links with and relation to the status quo; the treatment of dissidents in the profession; the range and limits of freedom; the nature and a critique of the nature of the professional education; a manifesto of

values and professional responsibility; a program describing the institutional and technique changes needed in the profession; and a guide to opportunities and ways of operating in the profession which contribute to the social change ideals of democratic radicalism.

In addition to this, each group would have the general functions of any study group in the Radical Education Project: a) to write on issues pertinent to the profession, b) to speak to SDS or other student groups interested in the profession or involved in programs of professional preparation, c) to undertake and encourage research, d) to serve as consultants in action programs, e) to organize conferences and serve as a general educational resource.

Some professional areas in which the project will attempt to organize groups are:

- a) architecture and art
- b) city planning and urban development
- c) the clergy and ministry
- d) dentistry
- e) labor relations and union staff
- f) law
- g) management and business administration
- h) medicine
- i) newspaper and journalism
- j) scientific professions and engineering
- k) social work
- l) teaching

The educational work of these groups would be focused on the professional training schools--schools of social work, law, industrial relations, journalism, theology, etc. Its basic strategy would be to develop "caucuses" of students and faculty in these schools as the base for its educational efforts and to recruit students going through the school into nascent professional associations or into radical factions within the established professional association.

There is no need to elaborate the variety of activities that might be initiated by these groups. Narrowly, the orientation is to aid the radical within a profession in being an effective agent of change. More broadly, though, the aim is to transform the profession: so

that it truly serves the ideals and imperatives of democracy and public service.

C: INTERNATIONAL INTELLIGENCE NETWORK

The task force groups working on the "nations series" pamphlets will try to build a resource group of left-wing scholars on each important national area and it will seek to establish and maintain frequent correspondence with radicals active in left movements abroad. These contacts will provide a basis for building an international intelligence network for the peace movement. There is now a need to formalize connection with a group of people closely tuned to international events, particularly in the Third World, who can serve as quick sources of intelligence as issues come up. This would involve monitoring the foreign press and official records, collecting "gossip" about the internal workings of the foreign policy apparatus, making available analyses of international events that appear in American and foreign journals, etc. We should devise ways to make contact with the increasing number of Americans who venture overseas in various capacities and come back sharing our alienation from present United States foreign policy and its assumptions.

D: ARTS

An important part of the REP program is the encouragement of criticism and creative work in the arts. In addition, the project will attempt to build organizational forms of benefit to those radical artists and critics who wish to maintain a relationship with one another and with the movement. Concretely, these forms might involve:

- a) a magazine of the "radical sensibility" which would include poems, stories, visual arts, criticism, and so forth. The magazine would serve as a forum for communication among radical artists and critics, and as an external organ for making public ongoing creative work. The aim would be to develop an identity among artists and critics in terms of the sensibility underlying their artistic struggle, rather than the particular medium in which it is expressed.
- b) a young writers series that would publish in book or pamphlet form the work of artists and students of the arts and would seek for these publications widespread distribution and consideration within the movement and without.
- c) distribution of the various small magazines of literature and the arts, criticism and social analysis. Many of these magazines are being put out, often publishing exciting and important work, but they have small circulation and are little known to the movement or public at large. REP will attempt to promote the best of these journals.

Organization and Implementation

General structure of the project:

The REP program will be directed by a committee or council of at least ten members, drawn from those working on particular study groups.

The National Council of SDS in the fall of 1966 will recommend a panel of names to constitute the committee for the first year of its operation. The implementation committee will appoint as many members of that panel as are willing to undertake the responsibilities of the committee.

The REP committee would meet bi-monthly. It would be responsible for setting priorities, general planning and on-going evaluation of program: e.g. selection of topics, insuring that the range of significant debates among democratic radicals is represented, assessing the impact of the program on the local level, and serving as an "editorial board" for the project publications.

Committee members would themselves be expected to write for the project and participate in the activity of a study group, to comment on material prepared by SDS, to give some time to speaking to SDS groups, and assisting them in educational programs. They should have no other formal responsibilities in SDS.

There will be an overall, full-time director responsible for the coordination of all aspects of the program. He should have broad "professional" knowledge in the fields of economics, current history, sociology, and political science. He should have writing, editorial, and administrative competence, as well as direct experience in SDS and the activist movement. Such other staff as are necessary will be hired by the director.

The SDS President and National Secretary and the coordinators of each study group will be ex-officio members, without vote, on the committee.

An advisory committee of "sponsors" will be established to assist in reviewing research, writing, fundraising, organizational liaison and other tasks as necessary and appropriate.

Formal structure: The project has been incorporated as a non-profit educational organization. It has applied for tax-exempt status, and that status is now officially "pending." The REP committee will adopt its own by-laws to insure both its autonomy and its functional liaison as an educational agency with action groups.

On money: The committee will determine its own budget. It will receive funds from SDS to support its educational work and will raise money from foundations, other organizations, and private individuals.

While the program will raise money from the outside and many of the publication and travel activities will have to be subsidized, the intellectual activity of the task force and study groups should be cooperative and cooperatively supported. People in a group are expected to contribute, commensurate with their solvency, to support the activities of the group.

Internal education:

The central function of the Radical Education Program is to provide internal education for SDS and other groups in the movement. Each study group and task force should help meet the educational needs of the movement. Following are some of the ways in which the internal education program might be implemented:

- a) Speakers' bureaus: to develop a series of speakers lists of people willing and competent to speak to SDS and movement groups on issues of political and social analysis. Illustrations of the subject areas for which speakers lists would be developed are: poverty, community power structure, the American economy, imperialism, the Cold War, the labor movement, the history of American radicalism and radical theory, radicalism and the arts, etc. Speakers lists might also be developed on more specific issues that have topical importance in the organization; for example, Vietnam, China, university reform, the War on Poverty, the debate on coalition politics, etc.
- b) Traveling workshops: to arrange for teams of individuals to bring to campuses and communities intensive and coordinated educational programs. Workshops could be organized around a single issue or area, or could combine related topic areas. People with special competence in these areas would prepare working papers, lectures, discussion outlines, bibliographies, happenings, tapes, film, slide, and other art exhibits that are relevant to their area of concern. Members of a team would coordinate their aspects of the workshop. In addition to substantive issues, workshops might deal with technical skills of organizing, research techniques and other practical matters of interest to radicals. They would be especially useful in helping chapters and community groups to understand the uses of tapes, films, and other "agit-prop" or educational material.
- c) Publications: the committee would publish a biweekly pamphlet/discussion bulletin. This would be distributed to all SDS members, with the price of subscription being part of the annual membership fee. Other individuals could subscribe to the bulletin at a price at least covering costs. Pamphlet issues of the bulletin would be available and advertised for sale to the general public. The bulletin would include:
 - 1) papers in pamphlet form (20-30 pages) on issues of program, analysis, and ideology. These would be prepared by committee members, study groups, or solicited from competent people both in SDS and outside the organization.
 - 2) letters from SDS members and others on substantive issues of political analysis, action and theory, comments on pamphlets and papers, notes on controversies, etc.
 - 3) seminar outlines and descriptions of educational programs that would be of value to local groups.
 - 4) bibliography, reading lists, book reviews, and abstracts of pertinent materials. An attempt would be made to draw attention to important articles appearing in other left journals--in America and abroad--as well as publications from more "mainstream" sources.

In general, every second issue of the bulletin would be in the form

of a pamphlet. That is, one pamphlet every month. The intervening issues would have discussion and shorter notes on issues, bibliography--items 2-4 above--and serve as a forum for membership debate. (The bulletin would not be initiated until sufficient funds had been raised to insure a year's publication.)

The committee would publish papers produced and approved through the various study groups. These would make up a literature stock available to local groups in bulk and for sale to the members and general public. It would make maximum effort to get articles placed in established publications.

In addition, two regular pamphlet series are projected:

- 1) the "nations series" giving analysis on conditions in particular countries as part of the international education program (see Part II, B: World Reality)
- 2) "seminal thinkers series." In many areas of REP concern, there are certain key theorists who serve as reference points. Since many of the activists in the current movement are ignorant of the intellectual history on which they are building, it is important both to popularize ideas and to stimulate reading of original source material. The groups working in the various sections of the project will be encouraged to prepare pamphlet length discussions of the work of important theorists. The general form of these pamphlets will be to sketch the main ideas of the writer (in terms of the particular task force topic), to outline the controversies regarding the interpretation and contemporary relevance of his work, and to provide an extensive annotated bibliography of primary source material and commentary.

If individual study groups decided to establish regular periodical publications, the committee would aid them in the mechanics of distribution and in securing sufficient financing.

The committee would assist in getting commissions for books and for other subsidized research, education and publication programs.

While the project will attempt to insure that papers and publications are of the highest intellectual quality, the views expressed will be those of the individual author or authors. The project will not publish official "political" statements. All material will be circulated for critical comment before publication.

- d) Techniques and materials: to recommend and distribute information to SDS and local groups on general programs of an educational nature, e.g. conferences, free-university ideas, research projects and techniques, etc. The committee would assist in the implementation of these ideas in so far as it was able. It would develop a stock of important educational materials: pamphlets, books, films, annotated bibliographies and discussion outlines, etc. It might develop a "book ordering service" or "left book club" to supply books to members at reduced cost.

- e) Resource: to service individual requests from the membership for information on specialized issues.

Implementation and priorities

This outline serves as a working paper for the project. It should be taken as a beginning point for analysis and implementation, not a rigid, immutable framework. It describes the needs--more than 50 major research areas are identified. All these things won't happen at once. But no one or two or five of them are of such overarching importance that their absolute priority can be argued.

We adopt the principle that priorities are set by what things people want to do, and by those people who are doing things in cooperation with the project.

This outline is being widely distributed. The people who respond will be contacted in more detail as to their particular interests. Task forces and study groups will be organized around these interests.

If people feel certain topics are priority matters, we are sure that live bodies will appear to do the work of organizing study groups on that topic. Only after we see the work people are willing to do, will we start looking to see which of the gaps are most important to fill first, second, third, etc.

The time between now and the beginning of the fall school year will be spent in three ways:

- a) preparing some basic materials for SDS membership education. This will include:
 - 1) a "how to do it" guide for setting up education programs on campus.
 - 2) an annotated bibliography of selected pamphlet literature that is now available from SDS and from as many other sources as we can review.
 - 3) a film catalog.
 - 4) an initial speakers list.
- b) follow-up on interest in study group areas by personal contact, and begin organization of study groups in those areas where there is someone to take the responsibility.
- c) fundraising. The REP bulletin will not be issued until funds are raised for a full year's publication. The SDS national council authorized a request to each SDS member to contribute \$5.00 to support the publications program.

Other fundraising efforts will be launched, including a request for contributions accompanying this outline, requests to foundations and other private donors to support particular aspects of the program, and a continuing search for "angels" to underwrite overhead, printing, and staff costs.

The Radical Education Project is located in Ann Arbor:

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The members of the initial implementation committee are: Alan Haber, Jerome Badanes, Barry Bluestone, Richard Flacks, Todd Gitlin, Michael Locker, Carl Oglesby, Robert Ross, Lee Webb. Other people have been added and the committee is open to all who wish to work. Barry Bluestone and Michael Locker will be responsible for coordination during the summer.

1 August 1966